

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 BEIRUT 6244

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINS, PINT, LE

SUBJECT: IS PARTITION INEVITABLE?

1. SUMMARY: DE FACTO PARTITION ALREADY EXISTS. THERE IS A DISTINCT "CHRISTIANLAND" NORTHEAST OF BEIRUT AND A "SYRIALAND" IN AKKAR AND THE BEKAA VALLEY. THE REMAINDER IS LEFTIST-ORIENTED. A SEEMINGLY INEXORABLE TREND EXISTS TOWARD MAKING THE PARTITION DE JURE. HOWEVER, FORCES FOR UNITY ALSO EXIST. IT WOULD PROVE ENORMOUSLY DIFFICULT TO SPLIT UP THIS COUNTRY SO LONG UNITED ECONOMICALLY. MOREOVER, CHRISTIANS IN LEBANON ARE NOT A SELF-CONTAINED KNOT OF POPULATION; THOUSANDS LIVE OUTSIDE "CHRISTIANLAND" AND DEPEND ON COUNTRY-WIDE CIVIL PEACE FOR THEIR SECURITY. NOBODY ON EITHER SIDE OF THE STRIFE HAS COME OUT EXPLICITLY FOR TOTAL DE JURE PARTITION, EVEN THOUGH SOME HARD-LINING MARONITES SPEAK OF IT AS A VIABLE OPTION AMONG THEMSELVES. WE BELIEVE THE MARONITE CAMPAIGN FOR TOTAL PARTITION IS LARGELY A STRATEGY IN THE WAR, DESIGNED TO DEMONSTRATE CHRISTIAN CONTROL OF AN IMPREGNABLE BASTION. THIS

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IS NOT TO SAY THAT PARTITION IS A FALSE ISSUE AMONG CHRISTIANS,

HOWEVER, AND WE JUDGE THEY WILL INSIST ON SOME SORT OF LOCAL AUTONOMY UNDER A "SWISS CANTONAL" ARRANGEMENT IN A FINAL SETTLEMENT. MEANWHILE, MANY CHRISTIANS SENSE THAT TOTAL DE JURE PARTITION DEPENDS TO A LARGE DEGREE ON INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OF A SEPARATE CHRISTIAN STATE, AND SUCH RECOGNITION IS UNLIKELY FROM MOST GOVERNMENTS. THE USG SHOULD NOT GET OUT OF STEP WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY ON THIS ISSUE, AND FURTHERMORE A UNITED LEBANON IS IN OUR OWN INTEREST. END SUMMARY

2. OBVIOUSLY DE FACTO PARTITION EXISTS IN LEBANON TODAY. THE INFAMOUS "GREEN LINE" DIVIDING EAST FROM WEST BEIRUT IS NEARLY AS SOLID AS THE BERLIN WALL. AND IT IS POSSIBLE TO CONTINUE THIS BOUNDARY IN A CURVE NORTHEASTWARD FROM BEIRUT TO ENCIRCLE DISTINCT "CHRISTIANLAND." WHILE THERE ARE A FEW FUZZY SPOTS IN THE LINE, SUCH AS IN THE METN WHERE PALESTINIANS AND LEFTISTS TEMPORARILY PUSHED BACK CHRISTIAN FORCES LAST MARCH, THE FRONTIER IS GENERALLY SHARPLY DEFINED. MOREOVER, ONE CAN DRAW ANOTHER LINE ROUGHLY SOUTH-NORTH, BENDING WESTWARD IN THE NORTH, WHICH DIVIDES OFF THE BEKAA VALLEY AND AKKAR AND FORMS A "SYRIANLAND" SEPARATE FROM BOTH THE CHRISTIAN AND LEFTIST ENCLAVES. AGAIN THERE ARE FUZZY PARTS, ESPECIALLY AT THE SOUTHERN EXTREMITY WHERE IT APPROACHES ISRAEL AND AT THE KEY MOUNTAIN-CREST PASSES, BUT THE EXISTENCE OF SYRIAN CONTROL IN THE BEKAA AND THE AKKAR IS INDISPUTABLE.

3. DOES ALL THIS MEAN THAT LEBANON IS DESTINED TO BE PARTITIONED DE JURE? SHOULD IT BE SO PARTITIONED? WE BELIEVE THE ANSWER IN BOTH CASES IS NO, ALTHOUGH THE PRESSURE IS CURRENTLY IN THAT DIRECTION. WE ASSESS BELOW THE PROS AND CONS OF THIS ISSUE.

I. FORCES FOR PARTITION:

4. THE SEEMINGLY INEXORABLE TREND TOWARD PARTITION IS ITSELF THE STRONGEST ARGUMENT FOR MAKING IT DE JURE, ON THE THEORY THAT IF YOU CAN'T BEAT IT JOIN IT. IF NECESSARY, THE THREE PARTS OF THE COUNTRY COULD PROBABLY MANAGE TO SUBSIST--BUT ONLY SUBSIST--SEPARATELY. DE FACTO PUBLIC SERVICES SUCH AS GARBAGE COLLECTION ARE BEING TAKEN CARE OF MORE OR LESS, IF HAPHAZARDLY, AND OTHERS CAN BE ARRANGED IF NEED BE. MANY PEOPLE IN EACH ZONE MIGHT FIND IT EASIER

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TO ACCEPT THE DIVISION THAN TO FIGHT IT JUST TO ASSURE THOSE SERVICES SUCH AS ELECTRICITY THAT DEPEND ON COOPERATION ACROSS THE LINES. THEORETICALLY, EVEN ELECTRICITY COULD BE RESTRUCTURED TO END THE INTERDEPENDENCE THAT NOW EXISTS. PASSAGE OF GOODS SCARCE IN ONE ZONE TO ANOTHER COULD BE ARRANGED THROUGH "FOREIGN TRADE" AGREEMENTS.

6. YET THE MAIN ATTRACTIVENESS OF THE PARTITION IDEA FOR ITS

SUPPORTERS IS THE SUPPOSED POLITICAL "SOLUTION" IT MIGHT OFFER TO A COUNTRY TORN BY CIVIL STRIFE. IT GIVES EACH SIDE SOMETHING TO CALL ITS OWN AND QUARANTINES IT FROM ITS ADVERSARY SO THE VIRUS OF FACTIONAL HATRED CAN STOP SPREADING. THIS IS ENOUGH TO GIVE THE PARTITION IDEA CONSIDERABLE SUPPORT, AT LEAST ON THE CHRISTIAN SIDE WHICH FEELS BESIEGED IN THE MOSLEM SEA AROUND IT. THE QUESTION OF ECONOMIC VIABILITY THUS BECOMES SECONDARY. SOLVE THE POLITICAL BATTLE FIRST BY SEPARATING THE TWO SIDES, IT IS ARGUED, AND THE REST WILL FOLLOW.

II. FORCES AGAINST PARTITION:

7. THE ABOVE SOUNDS PERSUASIVE UNTIL ONE LOOKS MORE DEEPLY WNT THE FEASIBILITY OF DIVIDING THIS COUNTRY SO LONGGUNTED ECONOMICALLY AND, DESPITE THE SERIOUS DIVISIONS, POLITICALLY. THE LEBANON THAT HAS FUNCTIONED SO SPECTACULARLY IN THE REGIONAL ECONOMY SINCE THE SECOND WORLD WAR IS AN INTRICATE SYSTEM WHICH CANNOT BE SPLIT SUCCESSFULLY JUST BY CUTTING THE LINES ALONG A CERTAIN AXIS. THAT DESTROYS THE OLL SYSTEM WELL ENOUGH0 BUT ONE STILL FACES THE ENORMOUS TASK OF BUILDING UP NEW ENTITIES VIRTUALLY FROM SCRATCH.

8. THE ELECTRICITY PROBLEM ALLUDED TO ABOVE IS ONLY ONE OF MANY ILLUSTRATIONS OF THIS TRUTH, BUT IT IS A KEY EXAMPLE IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE. BEING AN INTEGRATED CITY, BEIRUT HAS AN INTEGRATED ELECTRICAL GRID. OTHER INFRASTRUCTURE ELEMENTS ARE SIMILARLY FIXED. FOR EXAMPLE, THE COUNTRY'S TWO OIL REFINERIES ARE IN LEFTIST HANDS, WHILE MUCH OF THE CONSUMINGMARKET IS IN RIGHTIST TERRITORY. THE SYRIANS HAVE SHOWN THEY CAN DESTROY AT LEAST ONE OF THE REFINERIES AT WILL BY ARTILLERY. THE PORT, WHICH HAS GIVEN LEBANON ONE OF ITS CHIEF CLAIMS TO FAME, THE TRANSIT
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TRADE, IS IN RIGHTIST HANDS WHILE THE MAIN TRUCK HIGHWAY IS DIVIDED BETWEEN LEFTISTS AND RIGHTISTS. THE MAIN OFFICES OF THE FAMOUS LEBANESE BANKS ARE MOSTLY IN MOSLEM-HELD TERRITY, BUT THEIR LARGELY CHRISTIAN MANAGERS LIVE ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE LINE. THE INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT IS IN MOSLEM HANDS BUT, SINCE CHRISTIAN ARTILLERY CAN CLOSE IT ANY TIME, IS PARADOXICALLY UNDER CHRISTIAN "CONTROL" AS WELL; THE AGREEMENT OF BOTH SIDES IS NEEDED TO KEEP IT FUNCTIONING. EVEN THE SMALL BUT POIGNANT EXAMPLE OF ZGHORTA OLIVE TREES AND DRIPOLI OLIVE PPRESSES SHOWS THE DIFFICULTY; THE TWO TOWNS HAVE GROWN TO DEPEND ON EACH OTHER WHILETHEY CONTINUE TO HATE EACH OTHER. DO THE LEBANESE REALLY WANT TO PULL ALL THIS APART PERMANENTLY? SHOULD OTHER COUNTRIES ENCOURAGE THEM TO DO SO?

9. EVEN IF ONE CONSIDERS THE RELIGIOUS-DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURE

OF LEBANON'S PLIGHT--THE ASPECT SUPPOSEDLY GIVING THE GREATEST ARGUMENT FOR PARTITION--THERE IS ROOM FOR MUCH DOUBT ABOUT THE IDEA'S VIABILITY. A MARONITE LEADER RECENTLY TOLD EMBOFFS THAT MORE CHRISTIANS LIVE OUTSIDE THE PROJECTED "CHRISTIANLAND" THAN INSIDE. THERE ARE 70,000 IN WEST BEIRUT ALONE, HE SAID, AND THE ALEY, CHOUF, JEZZINE, AKKAR, AND ZAHLE AREAS ACCOUNT FOR MANY MORE. WE CANNOT VERIFY HIS STATISTICS, BUT THE ESSENTIAL TRUTH OF HIS ARGUMENT SEEMS CLEAR: CHRISTIANS IN LEBANON ARE NOT A SELF-CONTAINED KNOT OF POPULATION, BUT ARE A CATTERED AND VULNERABLE GROUP DEPENDENT ON LEBANON-WIDE CIVIL PEACE FOR THEIR SECURITY. THE MMARONITES LIVING IN BSHARRE, ZGHORTA, BATROUN, JBEIL, KESROUAN, THE METN, AND BAABDA--I.E., THE AREAS COMPRISING A TIGHT LITTLE CHRISTIAN ISLE--MAY SOMEDAY FIND THEMSELVES RECEIVING BITTER SCORN FROM OTHER CHRISTIANS LEFT EXPOSED BY THEIR SELF-SERVING PUSH TOWARD PARTITION. AND WHAT ABOUT THE MOSLEM MINORITIES SCATTERED INSIDE THE CHRISTIAN ISLE? THE SHI'ITES OF JBEIL ARE OFTEN FORGOTTEN BUT WOULD HAVE TO BE DEALT WITH SOMEHOW UNDER PARTITION.

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AMEMBASSY JIDDA
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III. HOW SERIOUS IS THE PARTITION MOVEMENT?

10. WHEN ONE EXAMINES CLOSELY THE IDEOLOGICAL PUSH TOWARD PARTITION,

THERE IS CONSIDERABLY LESS THAN MEETS THE EYE. NOBODY HAS COME OUT EXPLICITLY FOR TOTAL DE JURE PARTITION, EVEN THOUGH SOME HARD-LINING MARONITES SPEAK OF IT AS A VIABLE OPTION AMONG THEMSELVES AND ON BOTH SIDES OF THE BEIRUT CONFRONTATION LINE PUBLIC SERVICES ARE BEING SET UP. THIS IS RATHER OSTENTATIOUS IN THE CHRISTIAN CASE TO PROVE THAT GOVERNMENT CAN FUNCTION EFFICIENTLY UNDER KATAEB AND NATIONAL LIBERAL AUSPICES; THE SAME POLITICAL WILLFULNESS IS ALSO EVIDENT ON THE MOSLEM/LEFTIST SIDE, BUT IN BLACKED-OUT AND WATER-DEPRIVED RAS BEIRUT IT IS AT LEAST EQUALLY A MATTER OF CIVIL NECESSITY, AS HARRASSED CITIZENS JOIN WITH FATAH TO KEEP ORDER, PREVENT EPIDEMICS, ETC. ON BOTH SIDES, THE FACT THAT NOTHING HAS BEEN DONE YET TO CUT THE DE JURE CONNECTION WITH THE MORIUND LEBANESE STATE IS A SIGNIFICANT THOUGH SELDOM APPRECIATED FACTOR. EVERYBODY STILL SPEAKS IN THE NAME OF "LEBNON." IT IS AS THOUGH ALL SENSE THAT DIVIDING THE LC EN WHICH HAS

PROSPERED SO WELL FOR THIRTY YEARS IS A SELF-DEFEATING PROGRAM.

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11. NOT ONLY THAT, BUT THE ACTIONS OF HARD-LINING MARONITE LEADERS SOMETIMES BETRAY A POSITIVE ATTACHMENT TO LEBANESE UNITY, THOUGH IT IS OCCASIONALLY STRANGELY DISPLAYED. PRESIDENT FRNGIE'S EVERY WAKING MOMENT NOW SEEMS GOVERNED BY A DETERMINATION TO STAY IN OFFICE UNTIL SEPTEMBER 23, A DATE OF IMPORTANCE ONLY IN LEBANESE CONSTITUTIONAL TERMS. HE AND CHAMOUN ARE CURRENTLY ENGAGED IN AN ELABORATE MINUET TO PROVE THAT CHAMOUN IS THE LEGAL FOREIGN MINISTER--OF LEBANON. THUS, EVEN THESE TWO MARONITE SPOKESMEN WHO MAY COME CLOSEST OF ALL TO WISHING TOTAL PARTITION BETRAY A REALIZATION THAT THE ENTITY BEING FOUGHT OVER IS UNITED LEBANON. THE CHRISTIAN MILITARY ACTIVITY SHOWS THE SAME THINKING. THEY CUT THE ELECTRIC GRID TO WEST BEIRUT, BOMBARD THE SOLE AVIATION LINK WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD (COMPLAINING IT IS NOT AVAILABLE TO CHRISTIANS), AND FIGHT LIKE FURY TO KEEP CONTROL OF BEIRUT'S PORT--MOVES DESIGNED IN EVERY CASE TO HIGHLIGHT THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF LEBANON. THE CHRISTIANS WANT TO PROVE THAT THEY DOMINATE MORE OF THE COMMON ASSET THAN THEIR ADVERSARIES DO. THE KEY WORD IS CONTROL, NOT PARTITION.

12. IN OUR OPINION, THE MARONITE CAMPAIGN FOR TOTAL PARTITION IS A HALF-EMOTIONAL, HALF-MACHIAVELLIAN PLOY WHICH IN EFFECT TELLS THE OTHER SIDE: "DON'T PUSH US TOO FAR." IT IS THE CHRISTIAN TRUMP CARD, REMINDING THE OTHER SIDE THAT THE CHRISTIANS HAVE A NEARLY IMPREGNABLE BASTION THAT CAN HARRASS THE LEFTIST STRONGHOLD OF WEST BEIRUT AT WILL. THIS, AT LEAST, IS TRUE AS LONG AS (A) THE SYRIANS HELP SHORE UP THE WEAK SPOTS IN THE BASTION THAT WERE NEARLY BREACHED IN THE LEFTIST/PALESTINIAN OFFENSIVE IN THE METN RECENTLY, AND (B)

CERTAIN "FIFTH COLUMN" ENCLAVES INSIDE THE BASTION, SUCH AS
TELL ZAATAR, ARE CLEANED OUT. THAT "CLEANOUT" IS THE
PHASE WE HAVE JUST WITNESSED.

13. THIS IS NOT TO SAY, HOWEVER, THAT PARTITION IS A FALSE ISSUE
AMONG CHRISTIANS. IT IS GENUINELY ADHERED TO BY MANY AT A GUT
LEVEL, AND IF THE OTHER SIDE DOES PUSH THE CHRISTIANS
"TOO FAR" THE IDEA OF TOTAL DE JURE PARTITION IS BOUND TO BE PURSUED
MORE AND MORE SERIOUSLY. AMONG THE MOST HARD-LINING
MARONITES AND SOME CHRISTIAN MILITARY OFFICERS FED UP WITH
THE OLD ARMY'S DIVISIONS, "TOOO FAR" MAY HAVE ALREADY
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COME. BUT WE JUDGE THAT THE MAINSTREAM OF CHRISTIAN THINKING
HAS NOT REACHED THAT POINT. IF IT DOES, IT WILL BE AN EXAMPLE
OF POLITICAL "NECESSITY," EMOTIONALLY FELT, OVERTAKING REASONED
ARGUMENTS. THE ECONOMY AND THE CHRISTIANS OUTSIDE
"CHRISTIANLAND" WILL HAVE TO SORT THEMSELVES OUT AS BEST THEY
CAN.

14. THE "CONTONAL" CONCEPT PROBABLY HAS A PLACE IN CHRISTIAN
THINKING REGARDLESS OF HOW HARD-PRESSED THE CHRISTIAN MILITIAS
MAY BE. THE CHRISTIAN "MOSLEM BITTERNESS HAS GONE FAR ENOUGH
TO MAKE SUCH AUTONOMY DEVOUTLY WISHED BY MANY CHRISTIANS. IT
WOULD GIVE THE CHRISTIANS LOCAL CONTROL OVER EDUCATION, WELFARE,
ETC., WITHIN AN UNITED LEBANON. IT WOULD HELP SOLVE THE PROBLEM
OF CONFESSIONALISM VS. SECULARIZATION, A DILEMMA FELT BY YOUNGER
GENERATION CHRISTIANS AS WELL AS MOSLEMS, BY NEATLY BYPASSING
THE PROBLEM ALTOGETHER.
THE "CONTONS" WOULD BE CONFESSIONALLY HOMOGENEOUS,
AT LEAST TO A GREAT DEGREE.

IV. POLICY IMPLICATIONS:

15. AS WE SEE IT, THE ABOVE ADDS UP TO
A HIGH PROBABILITY THAT DE FACTO PARTITION WILL BE WITH US FOR
QUITE A WHILE. IT IS TOO VALUABLE A STRATEGY TO THE MARONITES
FOR THEM TO ABANDON IT--NOT TO MENTION THE SHEER PHYSICAL
PROBLEM OF RE-INTEGRATING TWO SIDES BORN BY HATRED, EVEN IF
PEACE WERE TO COME TOMORROW. FURTHERMORE, THE "CANTONAL"
IDEA IS SOMETHING TO LOOK FOR IN THE COMING MONTHS AND YEARS.
IT IS HARD TO ENVISAGE THE CHRISTIANS, ESPECIALLY THE MARONITES,
SITTING STILL FOR ANY EVENTUAL SOLUTION THAT DOES NOT INCLUDE
REGIONAL AUTONOMY IN SOME AREA OF PUBLIC LIFE. DE JURE PARTITION
IN THE FULL SENSE, HOWEVER, IS STILL BY NO MEANS INEVITABLE.
EVEN MOST MARONITES ARE NOT READY TO EESPOUSE IT. TTIRTY PROS-
PEROUS YEARS UNDER A UNITED LEBANESE FLAG GIVE THEM PAUSE.

16. ONE FEATURE OF TOTAL DE JURE PARTITION NOT COMMONLY RECONGNIZED IS

THE DEGREE TO WHICH IT DEPENDS ON THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.
EVEN IF CHRISTIAN LEBANON TOOK THE PLUNGE AND PROCLAIMED A
SEPARATE STATE, THEY COULD NOT MAKE IT STICK IF NOBODY RECOGNIZED
IT. ALL FOREIGN STATES OF IMPORTANCE IN THE LEBANESE
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EQUATION HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY FAVOR THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE
OF A UNITED LEBANON. THIS IS TRUE EVEN OF THE SYRIANS, CURRENTLY
THE MAIN CHAMPIONS OF THE CHRISTIAN POSITION. THE ONLY
POSSIBLE EXCEPTION IS ISRAEL, WHOSE RECOGNITION WOULD BE SIGNIFICANT
BUT WOULD HARDLY BE AN UNQUALIFIED BLESSING. WHILE THE CHRISTIANS
MIGHT CONCLUDE THEY COULD TOUGH IT OUT WITHOUT RECOGNITION FOR A
WHILE, IN THE HOPE OF WINNING GRUDGING WORLD ACCEPTANCE LATER
IF THEY PROVED THEIR STAYING POWER, SURELY THE REALIZATION
THAT NOBODY WOULD GREET THEIR NEW STATE WITH OPEN ARMS IS
A MAJOR DETERRENT TO THE MARONITE LEADERSHIP.

17. MEANWHILE, THE FACT THAT MOST FOREIGN EMBASSIES ARE IN
MOSLEM BEIRUT IS A GALLING FACT TO THE MARONITES. JUST LIKE
THE AIRPORT, THIS IS AN ASSET IN ENEMY HANDS WHICH THE
CHRISTIANS WOULD DEARLY LOVE TO CONTROL. ABOVE ALL, IT PUTS
ALL THOUGHT OF DRAWING INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION TO THE
CHRISTIAN SIDE OUT OF MIND, WITH OR WITHOUT PARTITION. THUS,
THE MARONITES HAVE RESORTED TO PLAYING DIPLOMATIC GAMES,
NAMING A NEW FOREIGN MINISTER AND SEEING HOW FAR THEY CAN
CARRY THAT PLOY.

18. WHAT DOES THIS MEAN IN TERMS OF US POLICY? WE
BELIEVE, FIRST, THAT IT SHOWS THE IMPORTANCE OF NOT GETTING OUT
OF STEP WITH THE REST OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. WHILE
MANY STATES LOOK TO US FOR GUIDANCE ON SUCH MATTERS, A HYPE-
THETICAL AMERICAN MOVE TOWARD RECOGNIZING A CHRISTIAN STATE
WOULD PROBABLY NOT ENJOY MUCH INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT. THE ARAB
STATES HAVE UNANIMOUSLY OPTED FOR PRESERVING LEBANON INTACT,
EVEN THOUGH THEY DO NOT AGREE ON ITS POLITICAL
ORIENTATION. OTHER STATES HAVE FIGURED THE DISADVANTAGES
OF DE FACTO PARTITION'S BECOMING DE JURE AND HAVE ACTED ACCORDINGLY.

19. MOREOVER, IN THE CASE OF THE US THERE IS ANOTHER AND
STRONG ARGUMENT AGAINST REMOVING RECOGNITION FROM THE LEBANESE
ENTITY WHOSE REGIONAL ROLE AS A TRANSPORTATION AND
BANKING CENTER UNDER A LIBERAL ECONOMY WE HAVE FOSTERED SINCE
THE SECOND WORLD WAR. IT IS LITTLE EXAGGERATION TO SAY THAT THE
PRESENT DISINTEGRATION OF LEBANON IS ALREADY A SETBACK FOR THE
NEAR EAST PATTERN OF STATES WITH WHICH WE HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED
FOR DECADES, AND SPECIFICALLY A SETBACK FOR THE DEMOCRATIC
UNITED LEBANON WE HAVE LONG ENCOURAGED. ACCORDINGLY, WE
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SHOULD DO ALL WE CAN TO OVERCOME THIS DISINTEGRATION. WE
MUST RECOGNIZE, OF COURSE, THAT LEBANON WILL NEVER BE THE
SAME, AND MAY HAVE LOST PERMMANENTLY ITS POSITION AS COMMERCIAL
AND BANKING HUB, NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF THE TERRIBLE DESTRUCTION
AND EXTENDED WARFARE, BUT ALSO BECAUSE OF THE BARING OF
LEBANON'S ECONOMIC AND SOCCAL FLAWS. BUT IS THE REPLACEMENT
DESTINED TO BE THREE STATES, A CHRISTIAN MINI-STATE SURROUNDED
BY AN ENLARGED SYRIA ANND A PALESTINIAN/LEFTIST SEACOAST BASTION?
IS A BERLIN WALL THE PERMANENT FATE OF BEIRUT? NOT ONLY DO WE
THINK THAT WOULD BE UNDESIRABLE, BUT WE THINK THE ODDS ARE AGAINST IT

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